

Message Text

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3280

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4289

E.O. 11652: GDS 12/31/79

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, IC, NATO

SUBJECT: IDF RETENTION NEGOTTIATIONS: NAC DISCUSSION SEPT. 12 1973

REF: STATE 179696 NOTAL

BEGIN SUMMARY. NAC UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED MILITARY COMMITTEE ASSESSMENT OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF ICELAND AND ENDORSED SACLANT'S REMARKS. IN LIEU OF A FORMAL, WRITTEN COUNCIL RESOLUTION, AT INVITATION OF GOI SYG LUNS WILL VISIT REYKJAVIK THIS SUNDAY, SEPT. 16 TO DELIVER COUNCIL RECOMMENDATIONS. END SUMMARY.

LUNS OPENED DISCUSSIONS BY CALLING FOR TREATMENT OF REMARKS ABOUT TO BE MADE AROUND TABLE. STRESSING SERIOUSNESS OF SUBJECT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR WHOLE ALLIANCE, HE CHARACTERIZED THE MILITARY COMMITTEE'S ASSESSMENT AS INTERESTING AND VALUABLE AND ASKED THE COUNCIL TO NOTE THE MC PAPER AND MAKE ITS OWN ASSESSMENT. LUNS CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT PARTIES CONCERNED, CONFIDENTIAL

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US AND ICELAND, WERE ANXIOUS TO INTITATE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS.

2. IN SHORT, FORTHRIGHT STATEMENT, ADMIRAL COUSINS STRESSED MILITARY IMPLICATIONS TO NATO OF LOSS OF ICELAND FACILITY AND WITHDRAWAL

OF THE IDF. SACLAN'T'S CONCLUSION WAS THAT ICELAND FACILITY AND IDF ARE IRREPLACEABLE; THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO UNDERTAKE A TOTAL REASSESSMENT OF ACLANT'S CAPABILITY TO SUPPORT NATO STRATEGY IF THEY WERE LOST; THAT WITHOUT THE INTELLIGENCE AND FORWARD LOGISTIC SUPPORT AFFORDED BY THEM, HIS ABILITY TO CONTROL SEA LANES WOULD BE SERIOUSLY DEGRADED; AND THAT IF THE SOVIETS WERE THERE INSTEAD, A GRAVE THREAT WOULD EXIST TO ICELAND'S OWN SECURITY. COMPLETE TEXT OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

3. LEADING OFF DISCUSSIONS, BUSCH (NORWAY) STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF QUESTION TO HIS COUNTRY. WHILE UNDERSTANDING NEED FOR RE-EVALUATION OF US-ICELAND RELATIONS, GON HOPES THERE WILL BE NO WEAKENING OF RELATIVE STABILITY IN AREA. THE SOVIETS ENJOY A DOMINATING POSITION AS COMPARED TO THE PAST. LOSS OF THE IDF WOULD RESULT IN FURTHER DETERIORATION WITH FAR REACHING IMPLICATIONS FOR ALL. ONCE BASE IS ABOLISHED, IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO REACTIVATE IN A CRISIS WITHOUT IT BEING INTERPRETED AS AN ESCALATION. HE CONCLUDED BY AGREEING THAT LOSS OF BASE WOULD WEAKEN ALLIED SUPPLY LINES IN AN EMERGENCY.

4. TOMASSON(ICELAND) EXPRESSED WISH TO MAKE NO SUBSTANTIVE INTERVENTION SINCE GOI HAD INITIATED REVIEW. GOI WILL STUDY VIEWS OF OTHERS.

5. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) NOTED THAT BELGIUM IS MAKING NO CONTRIBUTION OF FORCES IN THE AREA BUT UNDERSTANDS GRAVITY OF SITUATION. IF ONE OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE NATO "AMALGAM" DISAPPEARS, IT WILL AFFECT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ALLIANCE. BELGIAN POSITION IS THEREFORE ONE OF MAINTAINING SOLIDARITY OF ALLIANCE. GOB IS CONVINCED BY MC AND SACLAN'T REPORTS. EVOKING SPECTER OF INCELANDIC WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO ON EVE OF NATO'S 255TH ANNIVERSARY, DE STAERCKE, IN POINTED CHALLENGE TO ICELAND AND UK, CALLED FOR NECESSARY SACRIFICES. TO TOMASSON: HOW FAR IS CHALLENGE TO PRESENCE OF US BASE TO BE CARRIED? TO PECK: IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE THAT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN UK AND ICELAND OVER FISHING RIGHTS MAY LEAD TO " ACCELERATED CONCLUSIONS", THEN BASE PROBLEM CAN BARDLY BE EVALUATED
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OBJECTIVELY. ICELAND SHOULD GET SOME SATISFACTION; FISHING PROBLEM SHOULD AT LEAST BE EASED IF NOT SOLVED. BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAD REACHED AGREEMENT WITH ICELAND ON FISHING, LEAVING ASIDE LEGAL QUESTION. TURNING AGAIN TO TOMASSON, DE STAERCKE ASKED WHAT COULD BE DONE TO SOLVE PROBLEM IT MUST BE SOLVED: ICELAND'S PRESENCE IN THE ALLIANCE IS VITAL, INDISPENSABLE.

6. DE STAERCKE THEN RAISED QUESTION OF MODALITY OF CONVEYING COUNCIL VIEWS TO ICELAND (PAR 2, PO/78/125). LUNS RESPONDED THAT COUNCIL COULD ELECT TO DO BY UNANIMOUS VOTE OR FORMAL RESOLUTION.

7. SVART (DENMARK) EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IN FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS, ICELAND COULD BE SATISFIED WITHOUT PREJUDICING EXISTENCE OF BASE. DEN

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MARK UNDERSTANDS ICELAND'S REQUEST FOR REVIEW, BUT IDF IS OF GREATEST SIGNFFIANCE TO NATO SECURITY.

8. TOMASSON, RESPONDING TO DE STAERCKE, SAID THERE IS "VERY MUCH HOPE" ICELAND WILL CONTINUE NATO MEMBERSHIP, BUT QUESTION CURRENTLY BEFORE COUNCIL IS NEED FOR BASE AND NOT NATO MEMBERSHIP. HISTORICALLY, THERE WERE TO BE NO FORCES IN ICELAND IN PEACE TIME. TOMASSON HOPED ICELAND WOULD CONTINUE IN NATO, BUT CONFLICT WITH UK HAS HAD IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION AT HOME AND ICELANDERS ARE NOW LESS PRO-NATO THAN IN PAST.

9. CATALANO (ITALY) SAID ASSESSMENT BY ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD COME LATER BUT ON PERSONAL BASIS, HE WISHED TO JOIN OTHERS IN SUPPORT OF NEED FOR BASE. HE RECALLED APPEAL BY ITALY FOR SUPPORT LAST YEAR DURING DEBATE ON MALTA.

10. PECK (UK) EMPHASIZED BRITISH WERE AS CONCERNED AS REST OF ALLIES REGARDING DEFENSE AGREEMENT. BASE IS IMPORTANT AND ITS LOSS WOULD BE COSTLY. WHILE NOT SUBSCRIBING TO EVERY WORK IN MC PAPER, HIS AUTHORITIES COULD AGREE. TO TOMASSON HE REMARKED THAT NATO'S PROTECTION EXTENDS TO ALL, INCLUDING ICELAND. PECK UNDERSCORED PARA 28 OF MC PAPER (IN ABSENCE OF A NATO FORCE, WARSAW PACT COULD OCCUPY OR DESTROY BASE BEFORE NATO COULD REACT). HIS AUTHORITIES COULD NOT ACCEPT VIEW, HOWEVER, THAT HMG SHOULD ABANDON ITS REASONABLE POSITION IN FISHERIES DISPUTE. CONFIDENTIAL

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UK HAS HAD PROPOSALS ON TABLE SINCE MAY 4 WITH NO RESPONSE FROM GOI. AGRUMENT IS NOT JUST OVER FISH BUT ON RULE OF LAW AND RISKS OF UNILATERAL ACTION. HE HAD NOT INTENDED TO DRAG FISHING PROBLEM INTO DISCUSSION, BUT DID SO AS RESULT OF DE STAERCKE'S INTERVENTION.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15

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11. MENZIES (CANADA) ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH NORWEGIAN AND DANISH REMARKS REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING FACILITIES IN ICELAND, AND RESERVED FURTHER COMMENT FOR NEXT MEETING.

12. DE ROSE (FRANCE) SEPARATED FISHING DISPUTE FROM BASE ISSUE, NOTING THAT IN FORMER, LAW AND INTEREST WERE CLOSELY INTERTWINED AND THAT ALTHOUGH FRANCE HAD NOT TAKEN SIDES, SHE HOPED FOR A SETTLEMENT. LATTER, HOWEVER, WAS A QUESTION OF VITAL IMPORTANCE, ONE OF DETERRENCE AND OVERALL NATO DEFENSE. THERE WAS ALSO A NEED TO RESPOND TO A SPECIFIC ICELAND REQUEST FOR A NATO OPINION. IF NAC AGREES WITH MC REPORT, THEN REPORT MUST REFLECT HOPE THAT BASE AGREEMENT WITH US CAN BE RENEWED. CONTINUING ON DETERRENCE THEME, DE ROSE AGREED WITH PECK REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF PARA 28. DETERRENCE WAS CENTRAL PROBLEM; DE ROSE WAS SURE HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT IF NAC AGREES US SHOULD CONTINUE, EVEN WITH CHANGES (IN IDF MAKEUP), GOF WOULD CONSIDER THIS A REINFORCEMENT OF DETERRENCE.

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13. CHORAFAS (GREECE) WAS ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED OF THE PRINCIPLE OF INDIVISIBLE DEFENSE OF THE WEST, AND THAT A POSITION BASED ON GEOGRAPHIC POSITION DOESN'T MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE. AGREEING WITH DE STAERCKE, ON A PERSONAL BASIS CHORAFAS WONDERED IF IT WERE NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE A COOPERATIVE EFFORT ON THE PART OF ALL TO FIND A SOLUTION, SINCE PROBLEM AFFECTS ALL. REGARDING FISHERIES DISPUTE, HE SAW LEGAL QUESTION AS SECONDARY. LUNS RESPONDED THAT IF A CONSENSUS EXISTS, ICELAND WILL KNOW ALL AGREE.

14. RUMSFELD SAID US COULD APPROVE MC ASSESSMENT AND HOPED COUNCIL COULD REACH CONSENSUS AND AUTHORIZE SYG TO TRANSMIT IT TO GOVERNMENT OF ICELAND ASAP. US WILL CONDUCT UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS SERIOUSLY AND IN CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, AND HOPES SOLUTION SATISFACTORY TO ALL CAN BE REACHED.

15. LUNS ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD BEEN IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH GOVERNMENT OF ICELAND; THAT GOI DID NOT WISH TO DELAY HIS VISIT TO ICELAND ANY LONGER, AND THAT HE WOULD DELIVER THE COUNCIL'S ASSESSMENT IN PERSON NEXT SUNDAY, SEPT. 16.

16. DRAPF (GERMANY) REPORTED HIS GOVERNMENT SHARED CONCERNS OF OTHERS, INCLUDING DE STAERCKE'S VIEWS, AND WONDERED WHAT GERMAN GOVERNMENT COULD DO TO AMELIORATE SITUATION. FRG AND ICELAND HAVE ALSO HAD A FISHING PROBLEM. AGUSTSSON WAS IN BONN LAST WEEK FOR DISCUSSIONS AND ALTHOUGH SOME LITTLE PROGRESS WAS MADE, NEW DIFFICULTIES AROSE. ANOTHER MEETING WILL BE HELD SOON. INTERESTING PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE (HE DID NOT SAY BY WHOM), AND HE HOPES FOR ATTENUATION OF THE SITUATION.

17. RETURNING TO FISHING PROBLEM, TOMASSON SAID QUESTION OF REASONABLENESS DOESN'T APPLY JUST TO THE OTHER (UK) SIDE OF THE TABLE. THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WERE TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT OF ICELAND FOR SERIOUS STUDY ON MAY 4, BUT ON MAY 19 THE TOYAL NAVY MOVEN IN, AFTER WHICH THERE COULD BE NO NEGOTIATIONS. ICELAND HAS TALKED TO THE GERMANS, AND THE GERMAN NAVY IS NOT IN ICELAND WATERS. WHEN ICELAND TALKED TO THE BELGIANS AND NORWEGIANS, THEIR FISHING BOATS LEFT ICELAND WATERS.

18. BUWALDA (NETHERLANDS) ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH DE STAERCKE'S CONFIDENTIAL

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REMARKS AND WAS ENCOURAGED BY PECK'S COMMENTS ON IMPORTANCE OF IDF. NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT WAS WILL TO HELP IN ANY WAY.

19. ERALP (TURKEY) SAW ALL DIFFICULTIES STEMMING FROM FISHERIES DISPUTE AND PLEADED FOR AMICABLE SOLUTION. GOVENMENT OF TURKEY FULL APPRECIATES ISSUES. FAILURE OF DETERRENCE OR DISSOLUTION OF ALLIANCE (WITHDRAWAL OF ICELAND) WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT ALL PARTIES.

20. NOGUEIRA (PORTUGAL) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES CONCUR WITH GENERAL POSITION OF HIS COLLEAGUES. SERIOUSNESS OF SITUATION IF BASE AGREEMENT WERE NOT EXTENDED COULD NOT BE DENIED.

21. FISCHBACK (LUXEMBOURG) FELL IN WITH DE STAERCKE AND NOTED THAT COHESION OF ALLIANCE DICTATED GOVERNMENT OF LUXEMBOURG POSITION IN FAVOR OF FINDING A SOLUTION. HE SAW LINKAGE BETWEEN FISHING DISPUTE AND BASE RENEWAL, THE FORMER BEING OF VITAL INTEREST TO ICELAND. IF A COMMON EFFORT WERE MADE BY ALL TO SOLVE FISHING PROBLEM, AGREEMENT ON BASE RENEWAL SHOULD BE EASY.

22. SUMMING UP, LUNS NOTED AGREEMENT OF 15, THUS CONSENSUS EXISTS. ALL RECOGNIZE IMPORTANCE OF ICELAND AND DETERRENT ASPECTS. HE WILL TRAVEL TO REYKJAVIK SEPT. 16 AND CITE NAC AGREEMENT. ALTERNATIVELY, A RESOLUTION COULD BE CIRCULATED AND NAC COULD MEET SEPT. 15, CHAIRED BY PANS. DE STAERCKE SAID IF AGREEMENT OF 15 TO MC ASSESSMENT COLD BE RECORDED IN MINUTES, LEGAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH DRAFTING A RESOLUTION WOULD BE AVOIDED. THEN SYG COULD GO TO REYKJAVIK WITH NAC'S BLESSING. COUNCIL AGREED.

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